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Truth and Myths about

V. Cherednychenko

TRUTH AND MYTHS ABOUT UPA

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V. Cherednychenko's The TRUTH AND MYTHS ABOUT UPA is a story about the collaboration of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists — especially those of the so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — with the Nazis during WWII. Today, the nationalist top brass attempt to present the UPA gangs as an "army" which, allegedly, fought the occupiers. The author, relying on documented facts, eyewitness accounts and archival sources, exposes these falsifications and proves that the said UPA armed units were formed on Nazi orders, while shedding light on UPA's criminal actions against the Ukrainian people.

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Foreword

"Don't forget about your sword, learn to take an even firmer hold of it!"

"Militarizing our youth will always be instrumental in their upbringing..."

"More victims!"

"Blood and iron will judge between us!..."

These mottos of former and current leaders of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism like S. Petlura and Ya. Stetzko have presently become the foundation of the "science" which the nationalist chiefs try to implant in a certain section of the young people of Ukrainian descent in the United States, Canada, Australia and some other countries with Ukrainian communities.

The nationalist elite strives to raise the younger generation on the villainous traditions of the so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army (Ukr. abbr., UPA). They write books, brochures, newspaper articles and read lectures about it. The flow of this black propaganda is aimed at dissociating UPA from its former Nazi masters, at proving its "anti-Nazi" alibi. The emigre leaders are afraid to reveal the truth about UPA because they understand that the most inherent

traits of its bandits — treacherousness, meanness, waiting hand and foot on the aggressor, also their unrestrained cruelty toward the civilian population and their general misanthropy — could only arouse repulsion in the younger generation.

And so they do their utmost creating myths about an "antifascist" UPA, ist "independent" organization and armament, its "combat" actions "against" the Nazis and the "losses" it allegedly suffered in the course of such actions; about the "patriotic" essence of UPA's banditlike terror against the Polish population in the Western Ukraine and Eastern Poland, etc.

Pouring oil on the fire of all this falsehood, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists purport to conceal their loyalty to the Nazi aggressors during WWII, portray themselves in a favorable view — especially in the eyes of youth — and to present ruthless killers as "freedom fighters," if not as participants of the anti-Hitler coalition.

The purpose of this work is to expose the true identity of these falsifiers, to ascertain who and for what reasons formed UPA, against whom it operated, and in what forms and by what methods; what was UPA's end like. This author also intended to show that, by whitewashing UPA, the current nationalist leadership seeks to justify its own past activities.

What the Traitors Counted on

The war imposed on the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany was a just armed struggle for honor and freedom, for socialism, social progress and world civilization. The enemy planned to liquidate the Soviet State, make the Soviet working people its slaves and destroy their age-old history and culture. The economic goal of this war was to transform the Soviet land into an agrarian and raw materials appendix of the Third Reich, and the Soviet nation into a source of cheap labor.

Taking advantage of the element of surprise, the forces of the *Wehrmacht,* superior in terms of combat training, materiel, concentration and deployment, seized the strategic initiative. The Soviet troops, although they displayed miracles of perseverance and self-sacrifice and resisted the aggressor with unmatched heroism, had to retreat in the course of severe battles. In 1941-42, the Nazis occupied Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Moldavia, the Ukraine and a considerable part of the west of the Russian Federation (RSFSR). Almost 70 million Soviet citizens found themselves under the yoke of the Third Reich.

Despite all this, the Soviet people managed to straighten up under the excruciating burden of the war, ensured the Soviet Army's material and technological supremacy, while unleashing a nationwide partisan campaign in the enemy rear, and emerged victorious in this desperate duel with this striking force of world imperia-

lism. By winning this hardest and most cruel of wars in the history of humanity, the Soviet nation performed a feat of arms that knows no equals. It defended its freedom and independence and saved European as well as world civilization from the onslaught of the brown plague.

Unfortunately, the victory over the Third Reich was reached at a colossal price; over twenty million lives lost in the Soviet Union alone. The occupiers also ruined close to 30 per cent of the country's national wealth.

In the Ukraine, the Nazis destroyed and burned 714 cities and towns and more than 28 thousand villages, leaving homeless almost ten million people. The invaders put out of order 16,150 industrial enterprises, turned over two million homes into rubble, robbed and ruined 27,725 collective farms, 1,227 machinery and tractor stations, 878 state farms, 18,000 medical establishments, 32,930 grade schools, technical colleges, institutions of higher learning and research institutes, 19,200 public libraries and a number of other material values. The losses the Nazis directly inflicted on the Ukraine's national economy alone amounted to 285 thousand million rubles. A fantastic sum, but it does not give even a vague idea about the actual damage, because people who were killed and monuments and national cultural relics that were destroyed or robbed simply cannot be properly estimated. They are priceless.

The Nazis found devoted assistants and guides in the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists who lent them an eager helping hand in establishing the occupation regime in the tempo-

rarily occupied Ukraine. The nationalists took an active part in implementing the Nazi policy of genocide against the Russians, Ukrainians, Poles and Jews, as well as in the aggressor's barbaric practice of annihilating prisoners of war and in massively transporting young people to Germany for slave labor. They also helped the Nazis in plundering national and cultural valuables. What the Ukrainian nationalists counted on was that, having reached a "hard-won" victory over the Soviet Union, Germany being exhausted in this struggle, Hitler would be forced to turn to his collaborators for aid. And so the traitors to the Ukrainian people made their banking on eventually becoming "co-masters" of the Ukrainian land, thus being able to exploit the Ukrainian slaves with which the Nazis would "present" them.

The social mimicry and phrase-mongering of reactionary emigre propaganda, to the effect that the nationalists dreamed of having an "independent" and "free" Ukraine with the help of the Nazis, that they were faithful to the "general Ukrainian" interests, is, in reality, the determination of these enemies of the Ukrainian working masses to conceal their true identity and class essence.

It was of their own free will that the nationalist traitors linked their destinies with the criminal plans of the German Nazis who were close to them in spirit. They spared no efforts in assisting the invaders in enslaving the Ukrainian people and in masking their Nazi orientation behind the Ukrainian front. The Ukrainian nation is, therefore, quite justified in referring to the nationalists as true lackeys.

Nazism Sounds the Alarm

The Red Army's remarkable victories — especially in the battles of Moscow and Stalingrad — dampened, to a considerable extent, the military potential and prestige of Nazi Germany and caused a general shift in the situation on the fronts, testifying, for all the world to see, to the inevitability of the Axis's defeat. Of special importance in this sense was the national-liberation struggle in the Nazi-occupied countries where the underground patriotic forces and partisan units and formations were gaining in strength.

Soviet patriots in the occupied regions of Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and other republics destroyed Nazi garrisons, ruined means of communication, carried on sabotage efforts and mobilized people to frustrate the enemy's undertakings. The earth was literally burning under the feet of the Nazis as the struggle against them had become a nationwide patriotic war.

Five large Soviet partisan formations, some 900 detachments, over 1,000 saboteur and scout groups operated in the occupied section of the Ukraine in the late fall of 1942. These had in their ranks tens of thousands of soldiers. The local population kept them supplied with food, clothes, medications, messengers and guides, systematically informing them about the enemy's movements, hiding and looking after wounded and sick partisans.

This nationwide support which embodied the

inherent unity of Soviet society, the friendship and brotherhood of the Soviet peoples became the foundation of the might of the Soviet Armed Forces and the partisan movement.

It was then the Nazis sounded the alarm and recruited all the available forces and reserves in both Germany and the occupied countries, in an effort to win the losing war game. The Nazi agents — the Ukrainian nationalists — followed suit and announced "total mobilization."

"Until now," OUN leaders wrote in their newspaper *Stanislavske Slovo* (Stanislav Word) on May 23, 1943, "we Ukrainians have taken part in that struggle only as underground fighters. This is why we haven't been able to dedicate all of our strength to its needs. Today... the problem of total war faces us in its whole grandeur. The military front is calling us."

It should be noted, however, that the nationalist traitors had by then proved rather active participants in the armed struggle against the Soviet Union and, on every "appropriate" occasion, swore allegiance to the occupiers. Back in 1941, in the so-called Act of the Proclamation of the Ukrainian State (June 30), the nationalists assured the Nazi clique that they were filled with determination to form a nationalist "army" which would "continue to struggle, jointly with the allied German Army, ... for .... the New Order the world over." The OUNites made their intentions public knowledge via the radio station of Lviv which the Nazis had kindly given over to their assistants and authorized them to dispose of it as they please.

On July 7, 1941, V. Kubiyovych, Chairman of what was known as the Ukrainian Central Committee in Krakow, pleaded with Governor General Frank that "all the necessary steps" be taken in order "to make possible the formation of a Ukrainian national army."

Declarations such as this were made by all nationalist rulers and church hierarchs, without exception.

Apparently, ever since the beginning of the war, the point in question was not the organization of separate punitive detachments, "OUN field (mobile) units" or the police, both of which were already zealously fulfilling Nazi assignments, but the formation of a puppet "army" made of Nazi mercenaries.

Considering the Ukrainian nationalists' meritorious service to Hitler, Reichsfuhrer Himmler authorized in the fall of 1941 the attachment of small nationalist contingents to crack SS units, provided each Ukrainian Nazi had definite "racial features."

In the spring of 1942, the Nazis entrusted the nationalist combat units with servicing the *Wehrmacht* rear. "Ukrainian Cossack Companies" were formed in Nazi-occupied Mariupol. Basically, these were used for security assignments and rear supply missions. In 1942-43, the Nazis furnished another two nationalist battalions for punitive operations against Soviet partisans and called them the Ukrainian Liberation Host (Ukr. abbr., UVV) which swore allegiance to Hitler.

In the spring and summer of 1943, the Nazi command, jointly with the OUN-Melnyk elite and the upper echelons of the reactionary Uni-

ate clergy, formed the 14th Infantry *Waffen SS Division Galizien,* also known as the Halychyna Division, within the *Generalgouvernement.* After a course of combat drilling in Germany and some of the occupied countries, the Division was first sent on punitive expeditions against Soviet and Polish partisans. Eventually, it was moved to the German-Soviet front and, still later, to Slovakia and Yugoslavia to fight the liberation movement. (At present, the Ukrainian nationalists, demonstrating their "antifascist" stand, call this illfamed Himmler-sired formation "the first Ukrainian division of the Ukrainian National Army." In other words, they want to dissociate this division from the Nazi forces.)

The Bandera faction also didn't take long in responding to the alarm sounded by the Nazis. They followed the "total mobilization" plan by furnishing armed gangs and uniting them into what became known as the UPA Ukrainian Insurgent Army which the Nazis generously provided with weapons and other military supplies.

UPA's very name is utterly demagogic — an example of how the nationalists tried to picture their repulsive service to the Nazis as something very close to a national-liberation movement against the occupiers. It was the UPA creators' idea that the name of the Army would satisfy the credulous that its gangs served the "Ukrainian" and not the German Nazi interests.

And so UPA was devised as a trap for the population which was burning with hatred of the aggressor. The OUN leaders sought to

guide this hatred in a direction that best suited the Nazis.

All means were used for this purpose — demagoguery, deceit, threats and physical reprisals. Brainwashing the population was made somewhat easier by the "opposition" of the Bandera faction to the occupiers — a game the nationalists had started after Berlin had refused to recognize the Ukraine's "independence," proclaimed by Stetzko on June 30, 1941.

Dissuading the population from helping partisan warfare, while announcing their "anti-Nazi" stand, the Banderite traitors resorted to hypocritical allegations. They claimed, for example, that the partisans acted exclusively in the Nazi-occupied lands of the Ukraine and Byelorussia, but that there was no partisan movement in the occupied regions of Russia, nor in the Baltic Republics or Poland. Such a situation, the OUN ruling collaborators cynically assumed, was caused by the desire of the Soviet and Polish elite to protect the Russians and Poles against "German retribution" and to "deliver a blow to the Ukrainians with German hands."

The range of their subversive activity against the partisans was quite extensive, including spying on them, reporting on them to occupation authorities, infiltrating partisan detachments with saboteurs, tipping off the Nazis on underground resistance activists, bushwhacking separate partisans, staging provocations, etc. In the course of antipartisan warfare, nationalist agents provocateur simultaneously urged all those determined to fight the Nazis to be "reasonable" and not to take "anarchic"

steps against the occupiers. But what they cautioned against with special ardor was "Red Moscow's propaganda."

This lasted until 1943 when the overwhelming Soviet victory in the Battle of Stalingrad commenced the fatal Nazi retreat and the invaders faced resistance all over the occupied Soviet territory and European countries. The Ukrainian nationalists then changed their tactic. They began to organize fake partisan detachments — UPA gangs. In May of 1943, the Soviet Ukrainian government addressed an appeal to the population in occupied territories.

"The Ukrainian German nationalists, on orders from Hitler," read this document, "organize armed nationalist formations, calling them partisan detachments. They form these units allegedly to struggle against the Germans, but this is a provocation of the enemy.

"The Germans and their servants — Ukrainian German nationalists — want to lead astray, to restrain the struggle of the Ukrainian people against its cruel enemy — the German invaders. By forming pseudopartisan detachments, the Ukrainian German nationalists attempt to prevent Ukrainians burning with hatred of the German aggressors from joining real partisan detachments which are indeed fighting the German, Italian and Hungarian occupiers."

Characteristically, UPA's bulk consisted of the nationalist legions *Nachtigall* and *Roland,* also "OUN field (mobile) groups," the police *Schutzmanschaftbattalion 201* and the Ukrainian-German police forces in Volyn and Rovno

regions which were completely attached to the UPA gangs.

At present, OUN's ruling elite tries to prove its "anti-Nazi" alibi by giving even a false date of UPA's formation — October of 1942. In reality, it was the spring of 1943. The reason is the implied "courage" of the nationalists who weren't afraid to act against the Nazis when *Wehrmacht* soldiers were fighting on Stalingrad streets and in Caucasian passes and were stationed in the vicinity of Alexandria in Egypt.

However, this myth is disproved by nationalists themselves. The reactionary New York centered magazine *Misiya Ukrainy* (Mission of the Ukraine) noted in No. 1, 1964, that " 'historians' offer no dated documents to corroborate the existence of UPA, or that it was created in 1942 by OUN-Bandera, because there are simply no such documents." And further, ".... all the memoirs, as well as documents on UPA's struggle, begin exactly from the second half of 1943."

In the spring of 1943, the Banderites began to pose as "enemies" of Hitler — naturally, on orders from their swastika-wearing masters. They spread word that they had changed their views on partisan warfare and that their gangs were called upon to combat the Nazis. In reality, of course, the nationalists didn't go farther than critical demagoguery in the address of the occupiers, while persistently ironing out anti-Nazi moods among the population. I. Hrynyokh, one of UPA's commanding officers, thus explained this tactic in a strictly confidential talk with a Gestapo functionary, B. Pappe, in March of 1944; **"Among the key principles of the Orga-**

nization of Ukrainian Nationalists was never to act against German interests or the German State. Although there were separate cases of sabotage or, perhaps, even murders of Germans, these excesses never took place on instruction from the leaders.... of OUN, but were arbitrary acts on the part of some OUN bodies or separate Ukrainians, driven by personal motives and seeking revenge." (Boldface is mine — V. Ch.)

In the meantime, the Banderites still shouting about their "anti-Nazi" views, the occupiers assigned UPA concrete and far-reaching missions that boiled down to the following:

(a) to check the struggle of the working masses against the invaders in the Western Ukraine;

(b) to accumulate more Ukrainians genuinely striving to fight the Nazis in the UPA gangs, thus preventing the largest possible number of people from joining partisan detachments;

(c) by using the motto about the "liberation" of the Ukraine, to sic the UPA gangs on Polish and Soviet partisans, and on the non-Ukrainian population of the Western regions *of* the Ukraine and of Eastern Poland;

(d) to reinforce Nazi punitive units by OUN gangs, thus releaving forces of the *Wehrmacht* so they can be sent to the German-Soviet front;

(e) to encircle Soviet partisans in the north of Volyn and Polissya, so they can no longer conduct hostilities alongside Nazi communication lines — railroads and motorways — and to prevent the flames of partisan warfare from

spreading to other Western regions of the Ukraine;

(f) to extend espionage and subversive efforts on the territories liberated by Soviet troops.

The Ukrainian Nazi gangs of UPA came under the overall command of Roman Shukhevych, a career OUN officer and professional terrorist, known in the nationalist circles under the aliases of Dzvin, Tur, Lozovsky and Taras Chuprynka. Later, he referred to himself as UPA's "Commander in Chief."

Under the rule of bourgeois Poland in the Western Ukraine, he was an active organizer of terroristic acts and assassinations. In October of 1926, on one of Lviv streets, Shukhevych shot with his revolver Jan Sobinski, Curator of Schools. In the 1920s-1930s, he led armed gangs of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists in robbing post offices, banks, killing their guards and jumping their collectors. In 1933, Shukhevych was among the organizers and participants of an armed attack on the Soviet Consulate General in Lviv, in the course of which the Consulate worker Mailov was killed.

In 1938-39, Roman Shukhevych was in Nazi Germany where he took a course in the "struggle for a free Ukraine" at a spy school of the *Abwehr* — Nazi military intelligence. Later, the Nazis sent him to what was then known as the Carpathian Ukraine, to ogranize military and police service there and to form militarized units under the name of *Karpatska Sich.* After Transcarpathia was occupied by Hungary, he returned to the Third Reich where he continued to cooperate with the *Abwehr.*

WWII began. Shukhevych was assigned to train Ukrainian nationalists as spies and saboteurs under the guidance of Nazi intelligence officers. His trainees were then sent on subversive missions to the Soviet Ukraine. He also took an active part in the formation of the legions *Nachtigall* and *Roland* — espionage-saboteur units of the *Abwehr.* The legions were formed in the spring of 1941 by the *Abwehr's* Department for Subversion and Terrorism and attached to the notorious special Brandenburg units of Nazi military intelligence. For meritorious service to the Third Reich, Roman Shukhevych was promoted to the rank of *hauptmann* (captain) and placed second in command with the *Nachtigall* legion. The latter's C.O. was Senior Lieutenant Hertzner and his deputy in charge of political affairs was Senior Lieutenant T. Oberlender — both responsible officers of the *Abwehr.*

From the very start of Nazi aggression against the USSR, *Nachtigall* took part in heinous reprisals over Soviet citizens in Lviv, specifically in the mass killings of Polish intellectuals. Its blood-covered path also traversed Zolochiv, Sataniv, Ternopil, Yuzvyn, Mikhalpole, Vinnitsya and a number of other Nazi-occupied towns and villages.

In 1941, Shukhevych was appointed as C.O. of the punitive police *Schutzmanschaftbattalion 201* which raged in Byelorussia until 1943 and was used in punitive operations against Soviet partisans.

UPA's social composition revealed two strata.

The constituent gangs were led by sons of *kulaks,* clergymen, petty bourgeoisie, declassé and criminal elements, by and large well-trained *Abwehr,* Gestapo and SD agents. There were also plain ordinary village fellows there, thoroughly brainwashed and bullied into obedience by the Nazis.

Ouite often there were honest people among the bandits who had swallowed the bait of the OUN agents provocateur and believed that, after they had joined UPA, they would fight the Nazi invaders. Actually, that was the only reason why they were among the thugs at that period.

Finally, there were those who had joined UPA out of fear; otherwise, they had been warned by the recruiters, they and their families would be killed, (Incidentally, many had refused nevertheless and had been slaughtered for that.)

The OUN officers explained to the credulous UPA soldiers who were ready to fight the occupiers that their detachments were still "raw and incomplete in strength," [1] whereas the Nazis had "big forces." [2] In the meantime, an instruction of UPA's SB (Ukr. abbr. for Security Service) reminded one and all that "at this time of the German-Bolshevik conflict, it wouldn't serve our interests (i. e., those of OUN — **V. Ch.**) to be in active opposition to Germany." The true intentions of the UPA command were also made clear in an appeal of what was then the Volyn District Executive Committee of OUN (November of 1943):

[1] *Ideya i Chyn* (OUN's publication), 1943, No. 5.
[2] *Appeal of the OUN Leadership,* January 1, 1944.

"It is not struggling against the Germans," it read, in part, "that best serves our goals, but quite the opposite — destroying as many Bolsheviks as possible with German hands." But even as the Soviet Army had begun final operations to liberate the Western Ukraine, the nationalists stubbornly repeated that "Under the circumstances, an armed struggle against the Germans is not expedient." [1]

Such was UPA's "anti-Nazi" stand in reality.

With Nazi Weapons — Against Antifascists

In February of 1944, the government of the Soviet Ukraine addressed an appeal to the rank and file members of the UPA bands which read: "You were given arms by the OUN leaders, arms which they had received from their German masters. Where and when have they ever led you with your weapons against the Nazi aggressors? Has any of your OUN arms ever killed a single Hitlerite hangman? Has any of the UPA or Bulba detachments ever carried out a single combat mission against the Nazis? How many German trains have your detachments blown up? Did the OUN detachments free at least one of our poor people, taken prisoner by the Nazis, when the occupiers herded them out of their native land to Germany as slave labor? How much of the Nazi loot have

[1] *Ideya i Chyn,* 1944, No 6.

the OUN members taken away from the robbers and returned to the people?" [1]

Now and then at present, former nationalists come out with rather eloquent confessions corroborating the fact that UPA was an OUN-Nazi creation which was hostile to the Ukrainian people and, on orders from occupation authorities, directed its activity against those who fought the Nazis.

"OUN's active collaboration with the German Nazis prior and during the Great Patriotic War had a great devastating effect on our country," V. Kuk, former UPA's "Commander in Chief," declared many years after the war, "it inflicted tremendous losses on the Ukrainian people which it will never be able to forget. Its nationalist anti-Soviet orientation was supported by the Nazis who encouraged Melnyk, Bandera and lower OUN functionaries to carry on the anti-Soviet struggle." [2]

That OUN and the UPA armed gangs did serve the Nazis until "the Third Reich breathed its last," [3] was confirmed by M. Matvijeiko, then one of Bandera's closest associates, head of the illfamed SB Security Service who, in 1951, was sent to the Soviet Ukraine by the British secret service. Among other things, he admitted that Nazi intelligence had supplied UPA commanding officers fifty million rubles during the war.

Yu. Stefyuk, another UPA participant, had

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[1] *To the Participants of the So-Called "UPA" and "UNRA,"* Appeal of February 12, 1944 (in Ukr.)

[2] *The Open Letter of V. Kuk* (in Ukr.), Kiev, 1960, p. 7.

[3] M. Matvijeiko. *To the Members and Sympathizers of OUN, to All Ukrainians Living Outside Their Native Land* (in Ukr.), Kiev, 1960, p. 9.

this to state: "On orders from OUN leaders, we avoided the Germans and the German command, by an agreement with the OUN chiefs, ordered its troops to leave our armed units alone, although quite often we and Germans found ourselves stationed in the same village.

"I am a living witness to how the Germans armed our detachments and left them to fight the Soviets underground. I saw with my own eyes how in the fall of 1944 Germans brought 20 wagons of weapons — submachine guns, Soviet rifles and cartridges for them, several heavy machine guns and other military equipment and clothes, even two antitank guns with ammunition — and handed all this over to Ren's unit. Whoever was in the Bukove Berdo Forest near the village of Stuposiany in the province of Syanots at that period could see and testify to this open cooperation with German combat units. Such is the truth about the so-called 'struggle' of OUN and UPA against the Germans." [1]

And so it is a fact that the Nazis supplied the Ukrainian nationalists with munition, medicaments and all.

The British researcher A. Dallin wrote in *German Rule in Russia, 1941-1945* (London, N.Y., 1957, p. 621) that the German army, in its search for allies, willingly aided UPA, supplying it with weapons and equipment, because it badly needed a second, auxiliary front in the Soviet rear.

In other words, the Nazis armed UPA the

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[1] M. Yaremko, I. Zhylavyi, Yu. Stefyuk. *Toward the Bright Road* (in Ukr.), Kiev, 1962, p. 29-30.

way they had previously provided the legions *Nachtigall* and *Roland,* "OUN field (mobile) groups," the Ukrainian-German police, railroad and forest guard units, the labor service, village elders and other collaborators.

The Nazis took special pains with equipping the nationalist gangs when they had to beat a hasty retreat from the Soviet Union. "During the retreat of the German troops from the Ukraine," stated Colonel E. Schtolze, former deputy head of the *Abwehr's* Department II, taken prisoner of war, "Canaris personally instructed the relevant *Abwehr* divisions to set up an underground resistance network to fight Soviet rule in the Ukraine, including acts of terrorism, subversion and espionage. Official workers of the *Abwehr* — officers and agents — were left behind specially to exercise control over the nationalist movement. Orders were also issued to set up caches of weapons, canned rations and the like. Contact agents were sent across the front line. The nationalist gangs were supplied with munition."

Yo. Lazarek, former C.O., Department II, Occupation HQ of the Ukraine, taken POW, testified that, every week in the summer and autumn of 1944, he had forwarded three to four truckloads of hardware to Ukrainian nationalist groups.... Retreating, the Nazis often left behind entire military warehouses to be used by the OUNites. Thus, on April 15, 1944, nationalist gangs came in possession of stores of food and ammunition in the town of Kamin-Kashyrskyi. It was in the same manner that materiel was supplied UPA gangs by the Nazis in the towns of Ratne and Lyubeshiv.

Characteristic in this sense were the conversations of the OUN functionary I. Hrynyokh and the Gestapo officer Pappe, recorded in captured Nazi documents. In March of 1944, Hrynyokh requested the Nazis, on behalf of the OUN-UPA leadership, that they "secretly supply it (UPA — **V. Ch.**) with munition, weapons and explosives in order to carry on an intensive struggle." "German weapons and means of subversive operation," stressed Hrynyokh, "must be transferred across the front line and delivered to UPA detachments in accordance with all rules of secrecy, lest the Bolsheviks should have proof that the Ukrainian nationalists remaining behind the Soviet front lines are German allies or German agents."

Sturmbahnfuhrer Witiska, chief of the Nazi security police and the SD force in Lviv, informed his Gestapo superiors that "OUN and UPA will be able to accomplish much more if supplied with ammunition via the security police and the SD...." "Personally, I expect," wrote Witiska, "to receive a certain amount of weapons through the SS and the police command and the HQ of the military group of the Northern Ukraine, so as to at least drop it from *Zeppelin Sonderkommando* aircraft in the Soviet rear." And, in conclusion of the letter, "I would be much obliged to have the permission to take the aforementioned steps in the interest of disrupting Soviet supplies and carrying out subversive acts against the Bolshevik administration."

Apparently, the attempts of current nationalist falsifiers to "prove" that the UPA gangs were formed to struggle against the occupiers

and to defend the Ukrainian population are sheer — and, in many cases, rather primitive — falsehood.

Both OUN and other such bodies of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists were and still are military and not public organizations, designed for subversion, espionage and terrorism. It can be stated without exaggeration that every nationalist who entered the Ukraine in the wake of the Nazi onslaught, or who surfaced from the anti-Soviet, antipopular underground, had been drilled at Nazi spy schools, knew how to handle weapons and combat tactics better than many of the Soviet patriots who had no such skills but who voluntarily joined the partisans to fight the accursed enemy.

As for the allegations of the Ukrainian nationalist leaders that they knew little about the ways of the Nazis and their tactics, and that they required a certain period to learn them, they clearly indicate the nationalists' desire to present a distorted view of the reality. Indeed, in 1943 the Nazis had had the Ukraine for two years, had been engaged in exterminating civilian residents and adhered to the tactic of transforming the Ukrainian people into slaves and the country into a raw materials appendix of the Third Reich. All the present chimerical theorizing of the nationalists is, therefore, meant for the credulous — or, rather, for the incredibly naive. Striving to whitewash their past, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists cast brutal and cynical aspersions on the people of the Ukraine, claiming that this people was almost overjoyed to greet the aggressors, regarding them as "liberators."

Our land has more than once been the target of encroachments from abroad, but each time failure was the invaders' lot. Our nation has always been solid in its unity, profoundly patriotic and freedom-loving. It wasn't the Ukrainian people but the bourgeois nationalists and their shepherds — Uniate and autocephalous clericals — who fawned upon the Nazi aggressors and met them with the bread-and-salt traditional sign of Slavic hospitality.

In order to somehow explain why the first UPA bands were formed in Polissya and Volyn, and not in the District of Galicia, the nationalist chiefs refer to different kinds of "tactical" considerations and circumstances, particularly declaring that Galicia (Halychyna) was for them "a kind of rear base" of food and manpower resources.

This yet another falsification of history, because the actual reason was something else altogether and had at least two aspects to it.

In 1943, Polissya and Volyn had become one of the hotbeds of partisan warfare that was most damaging to the Nazis. The area was an avenging sword raised over the aggressor's vital supply arteries. Concentrated there were the formations of S. Kovpak, O. Fedorov, V. Behma, O. Saburov, M. Naumov, Ya. Melnyk, S. Malykov, M. Hrabchak and other partisan commanders. Apart from being a region of intense partisan activity, this locality was, in a way, a catalyst spurring into action the numerous detachments of Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Moldavian, Polish and Slovak partisans and underground fighters. From the local forests and marshlands, they carried out swift raids,

attacking Nazi communication lines, garrisons and military and industrial targets.

Volyn and Polissya were then one boiling hell for the occupiers. The latter constantly sought to extinguish the fire of partisan warfare there or, at least, to somehow neutralize it by laying siege to partisan units in swamps in Polissya. However, the Nazis obviously lacked strength for such a maneuver and so they increasingly relied on the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the German-Ukrainian police and auxiliary combat units furnished from among the nationalists.

On the other hand, in the spring and early summer of 1943, the Nazis, jointly with mercenaries from the Melnyk nationalist faction, mobilized people for the *Waffen SS Division Galizien.* They did it in the Western Ukraine, basically in what they called the District of Galicia. They were anxious to recruit young nationalists who were most fit for combat. Only then would the Nazis let the OUNites act at their own discretion in furnishing manpower for their armed gangs.

Late in the summer of 1943, the Nazi-nationalist-sired recruitment campaign neared completion in the District of Galicia. In the meantime, Soviet partisan units plunged into active combat operations in a number of localities in Polissya and Volyn. It was then the Ukrainian nationalists hastened to the rescue of the Nazis, shaping up a rough Galician version of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which became known as the Ukrainian People's Self-Defense Force (Ukr. abbr., UNS).

Facts show that the UPA-UNS gangs, their

very formation and ammunition, were aimed against the anti-Nazi resistance movement. This was another openly reactionary move the nationalist leaders made in response to the Nazi call for help in distress.

The Ukrainian nationalist collaborators never acted openly, let alone fairly. They wanted to keep the armed bands under steady control and to direct their subversive efforts against the Soviet partisans. To this end, the nationalists manipulated facts from the arbitrary daily practice of the occupiers, distorting the truth and treacherously portraying the heinous Nazi policy of terror as the aggressor's "retaliation" for the actions of Soviet partisans. Only the liquidation of the anti-Nazi movement could put an end to such actions on the part of the Nazis, assured OUN's elite. This implies, they theorized, that one must struggle against those violating "public order" — the partisans — who, allegedly, provoke retaliatory moves by the Nazis.

UPA's armed gangs bushwhacked scout and miners' groups of the partisans. Sometimes, they even ventured raids on small partisan units and mined their redeployment routes. They stood guard over Nazi communication lines that supplied the *Wehrmacht* with manpower, materiel and fuel and ruined whole towns and villages the residents of which were suspected of aiding the partisans. They turned farmsteads into ashes, pillaging their property, shooting, hanging and burning alive their inhabitants.

One of the captured instructions of the UPA command stressed; "The edges of all forests, all forest zones must be fortified by barricades,

impassable ditches and trous-de-loup. All forest passages must be blocked with fallen trees. Obstacles must be put up on all roads leading to the forests... Effective reconnaissance must be maintained at the edge of every forest.... Once the enemy has cleared a passage of the barricades, these obstacles must be restored. Each hostile stronghold must be covered by combat, self-defense and scout units. The enemy's access to our territory must be restrained while, if possible, annihilating the intruder."

Quite a few of those who fought the Nazi aggressors died at the hands of the nationalists.

One of the dispatches signed by the partisan commander O. Fedorov informed that hundreds of partisans had perished as a result of this nationalist tactic of bushwhacking and otherwise hunting down the Soviet patriots.

A partisan by the name of Anton Pinchuk got ambushed in the village of Vzlissya. He was wounded and captured by the nationalists who chopped off his feet and then hanged him. Mikhailo Marushkyn, another partisan, was also wounded and taken prisoner by an OUN gang. The thugs cut off his tongue, gouged out his eyes and drove a bayonet through his chest.

In the village of Vzlissya, the nationalist gangsters burned ten houses and used axes to put to death 18 children and women. They acted in the same manner in the villages of Lyubvikovychy, Arsyany and Perestonets. The nationalists razed to the ground villages such as Karachuk (100 homes), Sokhy (80 homes), Katerynivka (150 homes) and Yanuvka (100 homes) and slaughtered all their residents. This

list of hair-raising crimes could be made endless.

Their secret informers advised the nationalists on the location of partisan airfields and stores of weapons, food and medications. Before long, these places were swarmed by Nazi punitive detachments and nationalist bands.

As many as 290 traitors — agents of the Gestapo and the Nazi intelligence and counterintelligence services, 170 of whom turned to be Ukrainian nationalists — were caught by the counterintelligence division of O. Fedorov's partisan formation alone while it operated in Volyn. Its counterparts within the partisan units in Rovno Region incapacitated 95 OUN-Gestapo agents from April 1943 to January 1944, that is during ten months.

Repeated failures marked UPA's armed attacks on, and subversive acts against, the partisan movement. The Army's ringleaders, however, had the nerve to brag about their "victorious battles" against the Soviet patriots, and that the nationalists were "fully" complying with the assignments the Nazis entrusted them with.

As regards the Nazi command's opinion about the combat worth of the UPA gangs, it turned out much less optimistic. An official report of the "Ukraine" *Reichskommissariat* concerning the activity of the nationalist combat units acknowledged that the Soviet partisans had a considerable advantage over them, in terms of organization and tactics.

The expectations of the Nazis and the nationalists that they would "hold the front" against the Soviet partisans proved short-lived.

Kovpak's formation broke through the joint lines of defense of the Nazi gendarmerie and UPA, advanced to Ternopil Region and, while moving closer to the Carpathian Mountains, delivered several excruciating blows to the enemy lines of communication and garrisons there. In the meantime, the partisan formations of M. Naumov and Ya. Melnyk had also stepped up their efforts in the enemy rear.

In the vicinity of Zbarazh and Skalat, the partisans engaged in a decisive offensive versus German-Ukrainian police, gendarmerie units and OUN bands. As a result, the occupiers and their servants — whom the *Generalgouvernement* had persistently tried to gather into one striking force — found themselves in a rather difficult situation.

"On July 7, 1943," read a report of the so-called Ukrainian District Committee of Ternopil, "rumors were spread that a large group of Bolshevik partisans had appeared in the outskirts of Zbarazh which the day before crossed the Volyn-Galician frontier. People in the villages through which this group has moved estimate its strength at 2,500 to 3,000 men... Not far from Staryi Skalat, this group was met by a *schutzpolizei* force, jointly with the *sondereinst* and Ukrainian policemen summoned from neighboring villages, 200-240 men in all. A clash ensued which showed that the Ukrainian and the German police had taken an unfavorable position." This quotation really needs little comment!

Partisan raids on the *Generalgouvernement* furthered demoralization of occupation authorities and the destabilization of what was offi-

cially termed a "tranquil situation." Under the circumstances, *SS Obersturmbahnfuhrer* Witiska, chief of the security police and the SD force of the District of Galicia, ordered all the collaborators to help in every possible way the Nazi punitive commando units in exterminating Soviet patriots. "You will thus assist in restoring order and tranquility in your villages," the high-ranking defender of the Nazi New Order called on the nationalists, adding that 100,000 zlotys was the price the Nazis were willing to pay for the head of the partisan commander Sydir Kovpak.

The occupiers and the UPA ringleaders circulated an appeal of the District authorities in all the constituent towns and villages. Printed in German and Ukrainian, it was a joint message from the Nazis and the nationalists, urging the population to hunt down Soviet partisans and at all costs to prevent them from forcing their way to the oil fields in the Carpathians.

Five UNS armed gangs were formed to carry out punitive missions. One, known as the Black Devils, appeared in the vicinity of the villages of Mykulychi and Berezyn (Yaremcha District); the second one, *Trembita,* in Dolyna District; the third one, *Siromantsi,* near the mountain of Chorna Sykhla in Bolekhiv District, Ivano-Frankivsk Region. The rest were formed not far from the mountain of Mahura in Drohobych District and in the vicinity of the village of Nedilna, close to the town of Staryi Sambir. A look at the map of this area is enough to understand that the armed nationalist gangs were furnished in order to cover the

Nazis and create an obstacle in the way of the Soviet partisans advancing to the Carpathians.

A Nazi agent by the name of Lutsky was appointed as the commander of the UNS gangs. His staff included *Burgomaster* Holimbosky of what was then the town of Stanislav, Banakh, chief of the Ukrainian-German police force of that same town, and an OUN member under the alias of Sokil who headed the police force in the town of Tysmenytsia.

Soviet partisans were elusive, they popped up here and there, pulled off swift and effective raids on the enemy, then vanished into thin air. Their example encouraged an increasing number of the population to join the struggle against the invaders, which caused a great deal of concern among the nationalists. They realized that this resistance stepped up the propaganda campaign against Nazi Germany and its satellites. Last but not least, the partisan movement gave an impetus to the struggle of the Soviet nation against the Nazis in general. Sydir Kovpak's partisans demolished and burned Nazi-controlled bridges, ruined their lines of communication, killing as many Nazis and their nationalist servants as they could. Nazi garrisons were wiped out in Skalat, Halych, Rosolyn, Solotvyn and Rafalivka. The Nazis suffered painful blows in the oil fields of Bytkiv and Yablunivka. Nationalist reports from Kolomiya District advised on severe battles between the UNS gangs and the partisans.

And so the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and their creation — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — never even dreamed of revolting against the Nazis, the worst enemy of the

Ukrainian people. On the contrary, they did their best to curry favors with the aggressors, while turning the weapons they had received from the Nazis against the people's avengers — the partisans. But neither the occupiers nor their faithful henchmen could hamper the triumphant advance of the Soviet partisans across the Western regions of the Ukraine, then under the Nazis. Nor could they lower the intensity of the anti-Nazi effort encompassing the entire Ukrainian population.

Mercenaries Looking for Justification

Those of the Ukrainian nationalists who had fled their people's justice after WWII and found themselves refuge in the West suddenly began to talk and write about one particular war episode. It is suppose to have taken place in May of 1943 when a UPA detachment allegedly shot to death one Victor Ljutze on the Kovel-Brest-Litovsk highway. This man turned out to be one of Hitler's associates in command of the Nazi-sired stormtrooper detachments. What heightened the effect of surprise of this "news" was that there had been absolutely nothing to corroborate it previously.

However, the reason behind this mystery is rather simple. Having no evidence to back up the alleged "anti-Nazi" efforts of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — efforts which UPA had actually never carried out — the OUN chiefs did

not hesitate in entering the death of Victor Ljutze in their "combat assets" lines. Ever since, this falsehood has been included in a variety of slanderous nationalist writings. Even more so, it has been borrowed by some prestigious Western research papers. Remarkably enough, almost every such "fundamental" interpretation has offered a different view of the matter. Some of the authors have determined that Ljutze's liquidation took place on the Kovel-Rovno highway,[1] on that of Kovel-Brest-Litovsk,[2] or even somewhere on the Kovel-Brest railroad.[3]

In reality, V. Ljutze got into a car accident not far from Berlin and died in a hospital in Potsdam. The funeral took place in the capital of the Third Reich on May 7, 1943, and the memorial service was attended by Hitler, Goebbels and the rest of the Nazi elite. Later, Goebbels wrote in one of his secret diaries that, after breakfast that day, the Führer had summoned all the Party leaders — i.e., functionaries of the Party, the stormtrooper detachments, the SS and the *Hitlerjugend* — in order to caution them, quite explicitly, against riding their cars too fast (a hobby to which many of the Nazi Party had developed quite a fancy). The Führer had spoken very bluntly and had spared no scolding remarks. As a result of the Ljutze road accident, he had arrived at the conclusion

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[1] P. Mirchuk. *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, 1942-1952* (in Ukr.), Munich, 1951, p. 41.

[2] O. Martovych. *Ukrainian Liberation Movement in Modern Times,* Edinburgh, 1952, p. 104; C. A. Manning. *Ukraine Under the Soviets,* N.Y., 1953, p. 171.

[3] C. A. Manning. *Twentieth Century Ukraine,* N.Y., 1951, p. 145.

that it was necessary to lower the speed limit to 50 miles per hour for cars with Party license plates.[1]

In other words, the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists had nothing whatsoever to do with the death of V. Ljutze. The whole setup was just another falsification on the part of OUN, a fresh attempt to disprove its service, its docile collaboration with the Nazis.

In general, the nationalists have always been markedly apt at faking and bluffing. They even went so far as to attribute to themselves some of the feats of arms of Soviet patriots. Thus, it is asserted that it was by OUN gunmen that Nazi war criminals such as generals Ilgen, Goell and Derghell, Deputy to the *Reichskommissar* of the Ukraine, were assassinated,[2] whereas it is generally known that these Nazis died at the hands of the legendary Soviet secret agent, Hero of the Soviet Union Nikolai Kuznetsov.

Quite often, the nationalists claim that some of the Soviet patriots fallen in the war against the invaders were OUN members who, allegedly, sacrificed their lives for the cause of an "Independent Ukraine." In one such case, they spread provocative word in the West that Oleg Koshovyi, one of the key figures in the *Moloda Hvardiya* (Young Guard) underground anti-Nazi organization in the town of Krasnodon, Voroshilovgrad Region, was a "Ukrainian nationalist" who had conducted his struggle against the invaders pursuant to OUN directives.

[1] *The Goebbels Diaries,* New York, 1948.

[2] J. A. Armstrong. *Ukrainian Nationalism, 1939-1945,* N.Y., 1955.

The nationalists also claim that the brothers of the OUN top leader Stephen Bandera were tortured to death by the Nazis in a concentration camp because of their "anti-Nazi" endeavors. In reality, they were killed by Polish nationalists who were then rivals of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

OUN's Nazi-oriented toadies time and again come out with the story about the arrest, by the Nazis, of the organization's leading figures, among them Bandera, Melnyk, Stetzko, etc., as some "convincing" proof of their "anti-Nazi" moods. All this is nothing else but sheer bluff, long past being kept on the shelf. The known history of all sociopolitical movements proves that reactionary governments repeat one another in arresting their compromised agents, so as to restore their tarnished reputations. Such was precisely the technique of the secret police of czarist Russia and its counterparts in Rumania. Poland and elsewhere. The Nazis, however, turned out unmatched in this sort of fraudulent practice. Take, for example, the world-known provocative escape of Rudolf Hess to England when *Wehrmacht* divisions were stationed on the Eastern borders, ready to launch their treacherous attack on the Soviet Union.

It was in a similar manner that the Ukrainian nationalists dramatized the arrest of Stephen Bandera and the gang who, incidentally, spent their terms as "privileged" convicts, with all the attendant benefits, eagerly granted them by the prison administration. On top of all that, the high-ranking nationalist inmates were eventually discharged and provided residence in

Munich, to comply with other Nazi assignments.

Ordered by the occupiers, OUN members combated Soviet underground activists in the Western regions of the Ukraine, concentrating on the Ivan Franko People's Guard whose subversive efforts were the best illustration of the internationalist unity and brotherly friendship among the various peoples fighting their single enemy — the Nazis. This organization united in its ranks Ukrainians, Russians, Poles and people of other nationalities. Its combat units operated in Lviv, Stanislav, Drohobych, Ternopil, Sambir, Striy and Borislav.

The People's Guard patriots killed Nazis and their nationalist lackeys, blew up Nazi trainloads and aircraft, set fire to oil derricks, put out of order enemy-controlled military-industrial enterprises, warehouses, communication lines, demolished bridges and sections of motorways, actively interfered with Nazi requisitions, arranged for escapes of prisoners of war from Nazi death camps, etc. This organization also ran several anti-Nazi periodicals in Ukrainian and Polish.

The security police and the SD force of the District of Galicia, helped by the nationalist SB security service, managed to plant a secret agent by the name of L. Lypynsky within People's Guard where he operated under the alias of Voronyak. He was directly supervised by Pryshlyak, head of OUN's SB and paid agent of the Nazi SD service.

Lypynsky succeeded in penetrating the very heart of the secret organization and was elected a member of the Guard's War Council.

"As a result of the successful infiltration, by our agent, of this organization," read one of the top secret documents of the Gestapo, "the local police force managed to obtain considerable data pertaining to the War Council's coordinating role in the partisan movement in the Western Ukraine."

In July of 1942, OUN-UPA bandits slaughtered the participants of an underground organization, located in the village of Mashchiv (Volyn Region). The nationalists themselves admitted that this organization had operated against the Nazis "very skillfully" and had been kept "efficiently secret." Another anti-Nazi group proved quite active, from the very start of occupation, in the village of Rozhyshch, also in Volyn Region. The patriots blew up several Nazi trains and distributed Soviet newspapers and leaflets. The nationalists spotted one of them — a Czech patriot by the name of F. Frid, a veteran of the national-liberation war in Spain. They caught him and tortured him to death.

In the fall of 1943, OUN thugs butchered a group of Soviet patriots engaged in subversive work at the railroad station of Dubno. They also tailed and killed the members of a secret patriotic organization at the station of Sarny (Rovno Region).

The Nazis aimed their policy in their occupied territories not only at cruel physical destruction, but also at baiting peoples one against the other.

"Our policy with regard to the peoples inhabiting the expanses of Russia must consist of steps to encourage any form of divergence

and discord,"[1] Hitler instructed his associates.

"It is in the interests of the German policy to maintain strained relationships between the Poles and the Ukrainians,"[2] said Governor General Hanns Frank at a congress of the Nazi Party in August of 1942.

"The Soviets conduct effective propaganda, they proclaim the unity of the Poles and the Ukrainians.... It is necessary to do everything necessary to avert the rallying of the whole population against the Germans; to do so, it is necessary to pursue a classical policy,"[3] stressed *SS Brigadenfuhrer* O. Wechter, Governor General of the District of Galicia.

Three opinions by three representatives of the Nazi elite, by people varying in rank but adhering to one goal — to prevent others from getting rallied in the struggle against the aggressor, to split their solidarity and make short work of each separately.

Today, the OUNites attempt to prove that they have never been "involved" in Nazi genocide, to dissociate themselves from it. Irrefutable facts, however, corroborate that the practical realization of Nazi directives was assigned not only to occupation authorities but also to people collaborating with them. The nationalist lackeys butchered and burned alive thousands of people whose only "guilt" was that they happened to be of a different nationality. Towns and villages were turned into rubble.

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[1] *The Trial at Nuremberg* (in Russ.), Moscow, 1966, vol. 3, p. 144.

[2] S. Piotrowski. *Dziennik H. Franka*, W., 1956, ss.329-330.

[3] *Ocupacja i ruch opory w dzienniky H. Franka, 1939-1945*, W., 1972.

They plundered everything they could lay their hands on. By incomplete statistics, the nationalists burned 25 built-up areas in the north of Rovno Region alone. Volyn Region became a slaughterhouse of genocide. General Commissioner Schepe of Volyn and Podillya reported that the Ukrainian nationalists had killed close to 15,000 of the Poles in Volyn.

An OUN order was circulated in the province of Grubesz, Lublin District, whereby all non-Ukrainian residents — of course, barring Germans — had to leave their homes within one week. Those who refused to do so, warned the nationalists, would be "ruthlessly exterminated." "Either this will be a part of the Ukraine," emphasized the order, "or there will be blood up to one's knees here." [1]

"Force must decide all," read a directive of the OUN leadership, addressed to the UPA bands. "What must be carried out to this end is (a) total annihilation of all combatant Polish elements, especially in such outlying Western provinces as Kholm, Grubesz, Zasiannya, and the rest of the population must be forced to move to the parental Polish land; (b) destruction of all organized Polish bands, the Polish underground, leading Polish activists on all Ukrainian territories, placing special emphasis on cities as hotbeds of this epidemic; (c) concentration of efforts on the enemy's strongholds.... What is most important is a system, organization and discipline."

Not content with just killing people, the nationalists set to spreading artificial famine among the national minorities. Occupation

[1] *Agencia informacyina,* 14 September, 1943, No. 34.

authorities issued a decree the violation of which automatically entailed severe retribution. The following is its text: "Here is our slogan; from now on, no products of the Ukrainian tiller shall ever be used by a Pole or a Jew.... From our tiller we demand ideological consciousness, that he never be tempted by petty earnings from a Polish or Jewish pocket.... We want our tiller to adhere to the conviction that any food that is received from him and finds a way into Polish or Jewish stomachs serves to add strength to the Poles and the Jews in the city, thus hindering our liberation cause and damaging our national interests."

The consequences of OUN's terror against the Poles were horrible. Governor Wechter reported his Nazi superiors in Krakow that, from December of 1943 until May of 1944, the Ukrainian nationalists had killed 6,000 Poles in the District of Galicia.[1] Researchers have estimated that the OUN gorillas staughtered a total of almost 40,000 Polish citizens throughout Nazi occupation.

In some cases, Poles and Ukrainians were murdered simultaneously, as in Grubesz and other frontier provinces. This perfectly suited the Nazis and their servants, since such clashes worsened misunderstanding in both ethnic groups and distracted them from opposing the aggressors.

Polish collaborators, in turn, were also diligent and obedient in assisting Nazi genocide. They killed Ukrainian civilians and looted their property.

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[1] *Archiwum Komitety Woyewodzkiego PZPR w Lubline.*

Several dozen built-up areas, inhabited mostly by Ukrainians, were utterly ruined in Kholm District within only one year. In the province of Grubesz, the Polish nationalists burned to the ground 13 Ukrainian villages and another six in the province of Tomaszow.[1]

While arming OUN gangs, the Nazis supplied weapons to the gendarmerie units of the German-Polish police. Thus they tried to use the traitors of both peoples to step up Polish-Ukrainian genocide.

OUN leaders, carried away by bloodshed, secretly instructed their SB security service to liquidate all who had somehow betrayed a negative attitude to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Of course, the black lists included people helping the Soviet or Polish partisans, those whose relatives were antifascists or served in the Red Army, etc.

SB gangsters chose several villages or whole administrative districts where they exterminated such people in a planned manner. Usually, they rounded their victims up and herded them to some place. There, the captives were forced to dig their own graves, were stripped, shot and buried.

What was more, OUNites killed even their fellow members as there was a strict instruction whereby each "unreliable" nationalist was to be liquidated — whether he was a member of an armed band or was somehow involved with it. "When cooperating with military officers and those of the Security Service," the UPA command ordered in a special letter, "all combat units will be checked minutely and

[1] *Zospol BCH, Protokol 4B, 4. VI. 1944.*

cleared of unreliable elements." It was planned, in particular, to exterminate all OUN members from the central and Eastern parts of the Ukraine and those of other nationalities.

"Right away mass shootings began of people who had fled from Germany or had escaped on the way there," recalls former OUN member I. Revanyuk. "Several young fellows and girls settled in the village of Stolenski Smolyary. They had run away from boxcars when being driven to Germany for slave labor. They hid with sympathetic people, posing as their relatives or farm hands. One evening, the local nationalists summoned these fugitives, allegedly for a meeting, then herded them to a nearby forest and shot them there.

"Wells from which people drank in Volyn began to be filled with the dead bodies of perfectly innocent people who had been killed, hanged or strangled by OUNites."

The nationalist butchers specially saw that their terror against the "unreliable" elements was kept in the dark. The UPA command ordered the bandits to "carry out liquidation work in utmost secrecy." According to nationalist authors, the obliging killers tore up by the roots all that of which Soviet rule could take a firm hold.

At the same time, it was noted during a conference presided over by Governor General H. Frank that the nationalists "didn't act against the Nazis but destroyed Polish villages and public property on a considerable scale," [1] "did not interfere with supplies to the

[1] *Ocupacja i ruch opory w dzienniky H. Franka, 1939-1945.* W., t. II, s. 454.

front, nor did they blow up bridges or kill German functionaries."

Such is the truth about UPA's "anti-Nazi" efforts.

UPA: Gestapo Agents

Not long before the Western Ukraine was liberated by the Red Army, the collaboration of the Ukrainian nationalists with the Nazis received a fresh impetus. The security police entrusted *SS Hauptsturmfuhrer* Pappe with coordinating the anti-Soviet efforts of the nationalist gangs. Ivan Hrynyokh, chaplain of the *Nachtigall* Battalion and participant of the mass killings of intellectuals in Lviv in July of 1941, was assigned by the OUN elite to maintain liasion with Pappe.

Nationalist chiefs assured the Nazi command — in particular, the security police and the SD brass — that the nationalists would continue to help the Third Reich in every possible way in the transportation of manpower, materiel and food supplies for the *Wehrmacht.* They also promised to respect Nazi requisitions of horses, cattle, swine, poultry, grain, milk and other farming products from the population. The OUN-UPA higher echelons pledged to "keep our combat units behind the Soviet lines and damage.... the Red Army, organize physical destruction of NKVD * workers," etc.

* The name of the Soviet security police at that time.

The traps the nationalists laid for the partisans often yielded Gestapo agents, who had themselves been hunting for Soviet patriots. After establishing their identity, these agents were set free and special explanatory reports were forwarded to Nazi intelligence. Here is one of them: "We apprehended two of your agents, namely Tetyana Havryliuk and Victor Krylov," the ringleader of one such nationalist gang reported. "Put through proper checking, it was ascertained that both were German agents, so we decided to release them, in order to help our mutual struggle against the Bolsheviks.... If you want specified, and valid, data regarding the deployment and strength of the Bolshevik forces in this area, you would best consult what intelligence we have at our disposal. We happen to be in possession of the latest of up to date information."

In April of 1944, a conference of Nazi intelligence chiefs was convened in Lviv. Besides other things, its participants openly admitted that German agents were basically recruited from among the Ukrainian nationalists. Each day, Colonel Lindhardt told the conference, ten to fifteen intelligence reports were received from the nationalists in the Soviet rear.

Lieutenant Colonel Seliger also spoke favorably of the UPA gangs. For a long time, he added, he had been in touch with UPA's Commander in Chief Roman Shukhevych who was furnishing nationalists to be trained by Seliger's *Abwehrkommando 202* as spies and terrorists.

UPA thugs were responsible for the killing of dozens of Soviet paratroopers and other sol-

diers, caught in Nazi-controlled frontline areas. Some of the Soviet scouts bushwhacked by the Nazis were given over to the nationalists, too. The procedure of this "transfer" is revealed in a document signed May 3, 1944, by a Gestapo officer by the name of Pappe. On orders from the Gestapo, it reads, Ivan Hrynyokh "got in touch with UPA detachments in the District of Galicia and found out that UPA had in its hands a total of 20 live Soviet paratroopers. Among the scouts were several women radio operators. The Banderites were prepared to give over to us (i.e., to the Gestapo — **V. Ch.**) these twenty airborne agents... Hrynyokh stressed that neither the captured paratroopers nor their captors — UPA soldiers — should know about the transfer of the scouts to the security police.... On May 9, 1944, I expect to receive final information from Hrynyokh regarding when and where the security police will receive the first batch of the airborne scouts."

Tricks such as this, devised to keep in the dark UPA's close contacts with the Gestapo, were needed by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army's command in the first place, lest the rank-and-file bandits should think that even their superiors like Shukhevych, Savura and Hrynyokh were simply paid Nazi agents and provocateurs.

As the Third Reich was drawing closer to its shattering end, both OUN and UPA showed an increase in their ties with Nazi intelligence and counterintelligence. "Sturmbahnfuhrer Schmitz established contact with the UPA command.... to use them as saboteurs for espionage missions directed against the Soviet and Polish

bands, as well as against the Red Army. His endeavors yielded fairly good results. UPA came in very handy for the secret service," read a strictly confidential letter, addressed to the Gestapo chief Mueller.

A special circular of February 12, 1944, was brought to the attention of the *Wehrmacht* soldiers. Signed by SS Inspector General H. Prutzmann, it was entitled *On How to Behave with Members of UPA.*

"UPA will be constantly sending scouts — mostly young females — to enemy-occupied territory," it instructed, "and will report on the results to the Combat Group (i.e., to the one under Prutzmann — **V. Ch.**).... In order to prevent any interferences insofar as this cooperation goes, it will be most expedient for us to comply with what is ordered below:

"1. UPA agents in possession of ID cards signed by 'Captain Felix' or claiming affiliation to UPA will be subject to no forceful detention. Their weapons will not be confiscated. On their demand, such persons will be immediately brought in contact with a representative of the Group.

"2. When meeting with German units, UPA agents will identify themselves by raising the left hand, fingers spread, before their face."

The combat activity of the UPA gangs was coordinated by the HQ of the First Nazi Panzer Army, then stationed in the vicinity of Ternopil, as well as by the secret service of the Fourth Panzer Army.

Below are excerpts from the minutes of a meeting between *SS Oberscharfuhrer O.* Rukerich and *SS Oberscharfuhrer* A. Unbehl, on

the one side, and UPA representatives S. Rudyak and T. Maharas on the other.

The chiefs of the armed bands were obliged to "give over to the security police force of Rava-Ruska all Russian as well as other hostile paratroopers"; to "immediately deliver to the security police all Russian secret codes"; to "inform the security police about stopping places and permanent camps of the Russian or Polish partisans, and to combat them jointly with the German *Wehrmacht* or police units"; to "report to the security police on all deserters from the German Army, as well as on those crossing the line from where the SS Infantry Division 'Halychyna' was centered."

In turn, the OUN representatives requested the Gestapo that it give over to them "Ukrainian agents operating against UPA and for the benefit of the Russian or Polish partisans." Among other requests were appeals to "compensate ammunition spent in the joint struggle against Russian or Polish partisans"; to "provide medical aid to UPA members wounded in battle against the Russians or Poles."

The OUN chiefs solemnly assured the Gestapo that they would be "permanently in touch with the security police force of Rava-Ruska and continue to strengthen these contacts."

Today, no matter how hard the nationalist big shots try to deny their collaboration with the Nazis, no matter what chimerical arguments or examples of their "struggle" against the occupiers they come up with, they will never be able to dissociate themselves from their former Nazi masters. Irrefutable facts make it impossible for them to be justified. Ever.

Agony of Hatred

Toward the end of 1944, the Red Army had cleared all the Soviet Ukraine of the Nazis and proceeded to liberate the occupied countries of Western Europe. Finally, battles swept across the Third Reich and engulfed the countries of the Axis.

In the meantime, the OUN gangs that had suffered devastating blows were now hiding in remote forest regions. They remained obedient puppets of the collapsing Third Reich. The nationalists hoped that what remained of the *Wehrmacht* would eventually "bleed white" the Soviets, and that the surviving UPA bands would live to see another war against the USSR, waged by the West including the Allies. Meanwhile, the nationalists did what they could to hamper the Soviet offensive. The Allies were getting ready to strike the final blow to the enemy on its territory while the OUN traitors, writhing in an agony of hatred, carried on subversive acts in the Soviet rear and continued to murder civilians.

Thus, in August of 1944, a Soviet bomber made a forced landing near the village of Maidan (Lviv Region). The local nationalists hurried to the scene, killed the crew and burned the aircraft. In the vicinity of the town of Dobrotvir, the bandits derailed a train, demolished a section of the rail tracks between the stations of Kamyanka, Trumyliv and Rakety and caused the crash of yet another train, killing two and wounding eight passengers.

Decisive actions on the part of the Red Army's counterintelligence division in the rear prevented the nationalist saboteurs from extending their activity even farther. It was then the OUN-UPA gorillas directed all of their animal hatred against the working folk, especially against the peasants. They laid themselves out to prevent bodies of Soviet authority from resuming normal control. They killed Soviet activists and tried to put every spoke in the accelerating wheel of the national economy. In Lviv Region alone, from the summer of 1944 till May of 1946, the nationalists tortured to death a total of 5,088 Soviet citizens, among them 497 children. After the Nazis had been chased out of Ternopil Region, as many as 3,556 local residents died at the hands of the OUNites.

It was with some devilish persistence that the nationalists spread the myth about the "planned retreat" of the *Wehrmacht,* claiming that it would return and take ruthless vengeance on all those who had helped the Soviets in restoring the national economy. UPA bands burned down collective farms, clubs, schools, stores of grain and agricultural equipment. They continued to fulfill Nazi directives and remained the aggressor's faithful agents. With one foot in the grave, the Nazis still gambled on their traitorous assistants, including, of course, the OUN bandits. Nazi propaganda sought complacency in the stubbornly repeated allegation that the nationalists in the Soviet rear — those who hadn't had the time to take to their heels after the fleeing *Wehrmacht* — continued to fan the flames of some "rebellion," and that they would eventually "help" the Third Reich

defeat the Red Army. On November 15, 1944, the central Nazi newspaper *Velkischer Beobachter* referred to the subversive activity of the surviving handful of nationalist mercenaries as soldiers keeping up some "fanatical struggle for liberty" and wrote about those taking part in this struggle as people who had "burned their bridges behind themselves, destroying any links between themselves and the Soviets, thus being our reliable friends in our fight for the New.... European Order." [1]

Deutsche Alhemeine Zeitung — the organ of the Nazi Ministry of Foreign Affairs — wrote in December of 1944, after the *Wehrmacht* forces had retreated from the Ukraine, that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) continued to be active, and that its efforts were, allegedly, a "threatening phenomenon" in so far as the USSR was concerned. This Nazi publication further claimed that the surviving UPA gangs were engaged in espionage for the benefit of the Third Reich.

The agonizing Nazi periodicals in Norway also tried to calm their readers, feeding them cock-and-bull stories about some "great uprising against the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine" and about what they tried to describe as an "increasing number of insurgents" in that Slavic country.[2]

This Goebbels propaganda tune was picked up by the OUN press. "Whoever is against the Bolsheviks is an ally of Germany and that of ours," wrote *The Ukrainian* weekly on Octo-

[1] *vide* the OUN-sponsored edition *Ukrainets* (The Ukrainian) of 30 August, 1944.

[2] *Deutsche Zeitung in Norvegen, 5. I. 1945.*

ber 11, 1944. "An insurgent anti-Bolshevik movement is spreading across the Ukrainian expanses," read the OUN-sponsored leaflet *Do Peremohy* (Toward Victory).[1] "The rebellious movement behind the Bolshevik lines," the Ukrainian Nazi periodical *Holos* (The Voice) joined into this malicious choir (31 December, 1944; 24 January, 1945), "unites ever new conscious Ukrainian forces in the Western and Eastern regions of the Ukraine," and "is without doubt, an extremely important factor in the general anti-Bolshevik struggle."

In the opinion of OUN-controlled periodicals, concrete combat missions should be assigned to the obliging Ukrainian nationalist gangs operating in the Western Ukraine.

"While the Germans are delivering crucial blows to the Bolshevik motorized units closer to the Soviet lines, the insurgents further in the Soviet rear should damage and destroy the Red Army's railroad and motor-powered means of communication," *Holos* instructed on March 7, 1945.

Krakivski Visti (Krakow News) advertised the "feats of arms" of the nationalist gangs, although with a ponderable degree of scepticism. "One must regard the rebellious movement in the Ukraine with respect," the newspaper wrote on February 7, 1945, "while being careful not to overestimate its meaning."

The fanatical motto "Fight to the Last Man Faithfully in Alliance with Germany"[2] was the watchword with the Ukrainian nationalists in all of their heinous endeavors in the Soviet

[1] *Do Peremohy,* 21 Dec., 1944.
[2] *Za Ukrainu* (For the Ukraine), 1 January, 1945.

rear or as soldiers of the *Wehrmacht,* or still while serving in the ranks of the Gestapo or *Abwehr.*

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Liberating the Ukraine from the Nazis was the last straw for the agonizing nationalist gangsters there. As Nazi agents, their doomed condition was increasingly obvious.

The hightest bodies of State authority of the Ukrainian SSR addressed an amnesty message to the remaining nationalist bands, realizing that a considerable number of the insurgents were people who had been sincere in joining the gangs to fight the aggressor but who had been led astray by nationalist propaganda and had joined the gangs to become a blind and obedient tool in the hands of the Nazis, without knowing it. The government of the Soviet Ukraine guaranteed pardon to all those who would leave their forest bunkers and give themselves up to Soviet authorities. At the same time, the government made it absolutely clear that bandits responsible for disregarding this proposal automatically became liable for retributions prescribed by the Soviet law.

By acting in this manner, the Soviet Ukrainian administration, being in possession of means enabling it to wipe out the bandits in the shortest possible period, proceeded from a Marxist belief. The latter holds that, in order to oppose counterrevolution, one should act peacefully where and whenever feasible, and use weapons where and whenever absolutely necessary. That government also abode by the

principles of humaneness and by the desire to avoid unnecessary bloodshed. This, however, demanded from the authorities a great deal of restraint, tact and time.

A considerable number of the bandits walked out of the forest and surrendered. They were pardoned and ensured jobs and a normal living.

Catastrophe marked the end of the subversive, antipopular endeavors of the OUN-UPA gangs — this adventuresome offspring of Nazism and Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism.

"Collaboration with the Germans made a fatal impact on our destinies in both world wars," admitted K. Pankivsky, himself an active member of the movement. "The Germans — was it under the Kaiser or Hitler — were the aggressors and managed, quite perfectly, to unite the entire world against them. This is our tragedy. Our participation in the Second World War has placed us on a par with Nazi war criminals." [1]

Everything quoted above is truly quite illustrative, especially in that it belongs to a former collaborator. It proves that one's affiliation to the Ukrainian nationalists has at all times meant one's being an enemy to the Ukrainian nation, an enemy to the working masses who is prepared to embark on the road leading to treason and venality.

Bourgeois nationalism has never had anything in common with the working people of the Ukraine. Under Soviet times, nationalism has

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[1] K. Pankivsky. *The Years of German Occupation,* Newark-Toronto, 1965, p. 439.

lost its social footing. Its slogans are no longer heeded by the people who simply shake their heads at them with contempt.

In the trying years of the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945), the courageous sons and daughters of the Ukraine once again demonstrated their faithfulness to the invincible friendship of all the Soviet republics, tempered in the flaming struggle against the Nazi invaders. This unity has since grown even stronger, so much so that it can never be violated by any hostile forces from the without.

Epilogue

Collaborationism proves to be a many-sided phenomenon. Cooperation with the Nazi aggressors was made a policy by representatives of the ruling classes and, in some countries such as France, Norway and Denmark, it was raised to the government level.

This booklet is about the collaboration of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists — in particular, those in the gangs of UPA, the so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army — with the Nazi occupiers.

Talking about UPA, one must bear in mind the fact that it was neither "Insurgent" nor "Ukrainian," let alone being referred to as "Army." It was sired by the Nazis, to begin with, who supplied it with arms and other equipment and it basically protected their interests. Secondly, even if this "Army" were "Insur-

gent," it revolted against the Ukrainian people. Until the debacle of the Third Reich, UPA remained an obedient servant of the invaders. Thirdly, it was in reality a handful of bands specializiing in hunting down and bushwhacking Soviet patriots, reporting on them to the Nazis and staging various provocations. Naturally, not one of these activities can justify UPA's name as an "Army."

The Ukrainian nationalist traitors were part and parcel of the Nazi espionage network and were directly involved in anti-Soviet subversive missions, for the most part in the Western Ukraine, designed to undermine the Soviet rear. During WWII, UPA's efforts were supported and directed by Germany's secret services. After the war, control over UPA was tried to be taken over by the intelligence departments of the United States, Great Britain and other capitalist countries.

Several years ago — in 1977, to be precise — one H. Rositzke, a former responsible member of the Central Intelligence Agency, published the book *CIA Secret Operations* in New York. The author informs that, after WWII, the Agency maintained close contacts with the OUN bands operating in the Western Ukraine. While getting ready for a third world war, the Pentagon planned active use of the nationalists as saboteurs in the Soviet rear. In 1949, the CIA even trained and dropped over the Carpathian Mountains some of its agents from among the nationalists. But the surviving OUN underground network was already breathing its last and there was nothing the Agency could do to help it.

During the war, especially when it was nearing its end, the UPA command expected that Hitler, seeing that his *Wehrmacht* was bleeding white in devastating combats with the Soviet Army, would be forced to turn to them for help, for which the nationalist elite would be allowed to become "co-masters" of the Ukrainian land. Still later, they thought that an "exhausted" Soviet Union would be an easy prey to its former Allies and that they would be somehow rewarded for assisting in this venture. All these expectations have one thing in common — the desire to restore the severe system of capitalist exploitation in the Ukraine and become one of the exploiters of the Ukrainian working masses.

Indeed, behind all the demagogical declarations of the OUN elite about their devotion to some "independent" and "free" Ukraine lies their determination to conceal their actual class purposes and antipopular aspirations from the working people of that country.

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